

HELLENISTIC REFERENCE IN THE PROEM OF THEOCRITUS, *IDYLL* 22

Theocritus' twenty-second idyll is cast in the form of a hymn to the Dioscuri, who are addressed in the proem as saviours of men, horses, and ships. This opening section of the idyll is modelled loosely on the short thirty-third Homeric hymn, and like that hymn contains an expanded account of the twins' rescue of ships about to be lost in a storm. As is hardly surprising, Theocritus in reworking the Homeric hymn draws on other literary antecedents as well, and like other Alexandrian poets makes prominent use of diction borrowed and adapted from the Homeric epics.¹ At the same time, the proem also shares several points of contact, largely overlooked or disputed by previous scholarship, with the poetry of Theocritus' own contemporaries. In the present paper, I shall suggest that in the storm scene of the proem references to Aratus' *Phaenomena* and Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* occur in a carefully arranged pattern with potentially significant implications for our understanding of the proem and the idyll as a whole.

Theocritus' familiarity with the poetry of Aratus has been the subject of some dispute. While Callimachus writes of Aratus with admiration,² and Apollonius' *Argonautica* shows clear signs of Aratean influence,³ positive verbal evidence that Theocritus knew and was influenced by his poetry is scanty.⁴ The opening of *Idyll* 17 is identical to the first words of the *Phaenomena*, but the nature of the relationship between the two passages remains uncertain.⁵ Lines 19–22 of *Idyll* 22 have also seemed to several scholars to offer evidence of direct Aratean influence:

αἶψα δ' ἀπολῆγουσ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὴ δὲ γαλήνη
 ἄμ πέλαγος· νεφέλαι δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι.
 ἐκ δ' Ἀρκτοὶ τ' ἐφάνησαν Ὀνῶν τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἀμαυρὴ
 Φάτνη, σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλόον εὐδία πάντα.

Id. 22.19–22

Aratus describes the Manger in similar terms:⁶

Σκέπτεο καὶ Φάτνην. ἡ μὲν τ' ὀλίγη εἰκνυία
 ἀχλύι βορραίῃ ὑπὸ Καρκίνῳ ἡγηλάζει·
 ἄμφι δὲ μιν δύο λεπτὰ φαινόμενοι φορέονται
 ἀστέρες, οὔτε τι πολλὸν ἀπήγοροι οὔτε μάλ' ἐγγύς,
 ἀλλ' ὅσσον τε μάλιστα πυγούσιον ὠίσασθαι.
 εἰς μὲν πὰρ βορέας νότῳ δ' ἐπικέκλιται ἄλλος.
 καὶ τοὶ μὲν καλέονται Ὀνοὶ. μέσση δέ τε Φάτνη.

¹ E.g. ἀνέρρηξαν δ' ἄρα τοίχους (12) recalls *Il.* 7.461 τείχος ἀναρρήξας; ἄμ πέλαγος (20) occurs at *Od.* 5.330, *Hes. Theog.* 190.

² *E.* 27, fr. 460 Pf.

³ Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 635–6; G. W. Mooney ed., *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Dublin, 1912; repr. Amsterdam, 1987), p. 24.

⁴ The Aratus addressed at *Id.* 6.2 and the man of the same name mentioned at *Id.* 7.98 were generally identified with the poet from Soli until U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 'Aratos von Kos', *Kleine Schriften* II (Berlin, 1971), pp. 71–89 (= *Gött. Nachr.* 1894, 182–99) pointed out the frailty of the support for such an identification.

⁵ A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*² (Cambridge, 1952; repr. 1965) II, p. 327. M. Rossi, *Theocritus' Idyll XVII: A Stylistic Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 8–10, is more confident about Theocritean borrowing here.

⁶ The text is that of J. Martin, *Arati Phaenomena* (Florence, 1956).

ἤτε κεί ἐξαπίνης πάντη Διὸς εὐδιόωντος
 γίνετ' ἄφαντος ὅλη, τοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἰόντες
 ἀστέρες ἀλλήλων αὐτοσχεδὸν ἰνδάλλονται
 οὐκ ὀλίγῳ χειμῶνι τότε κλύζονται ἄρουραι.

Phaen. 892–902⁷

The view that *Id.* 22.19–22 shows Aratean influence was advanced by Maass, and later disputed by Wilamowitz, who argued that the passage could have been otherwise inspired.⁸ Subsequent scholarship has largely shared Wilamowitz' skepticism; Gow, for instance, comments that 'there is no real resemblance' between the passages.⁹

Recently, however, Mary Pendergraft has reopened discussion of the relationship between *Id.* 22.19–22 and the *Phaenomena*, arguing not only that Aratus' description of the Manger is in fact the most likely source for the Theocritean passage, but also that Theocritus indicates his model for lines 19–22 by using in them markedly Aratean diction.¹⁰ The passage, she suggests, contains words and phrases common in Aratus but infrequent elsewhere in the Theocritean corpus; she cites Aratus' fondness for *ἄνεμος*, for the expression *ἄλλυδης ἄλλ-* and the similar *ἄλλοθεν ἄλλ-*, for the adjective *εὐδιος* and related words, and for the verbs *φαίνω* and *σημαίνω* and their derivatives. Two crucial difficulties attend this lexical approach, however. In the first place, it simply considers word distribution without taking subject matter into account, and in the second, it does not sufficiently acknowledge the archaic sources of the diction considered markedly Aratean. Forms of both *φαίνω* and of *ἄνεμος*, for example, occur in the parallel passage of the thirty-third Homeric hymn (*Id.* 22.21 *ἐκ... ἐφάνησαν* ~ *HH* 33.12 *ἐφάνησαν*; *ἄνεμος* at *HH* 33.11), and therefore the appearance of these words in the idyll, whatever their relative infrequency elsewhere in the corpus, says unfortunately little about any relationship to the *Phaenomena*.

Slightly better support for directly connecting the Theocritean passage to Aratus may be at hand in the expression *νεφέλαι δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδης ἄλλαι* (20). In metrical position and phraseology this expression is reminiscent of such Homeric expressions as *Il.* 11.486 *Τρώες δὲ διέτρεσαν ἄλλυδης ἄλλος* and *Il.* 12.461 *σανίδες δὲ διέτμαγεν ἄλλυδης ἄλλη*. The phrase also bears a clear similarity to [Theoc.] 25.70 *ἐπέδραμον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος*. More significant for our purposes, however, is that, as far as I can tell, a form of *νεφέλη* is conjoined in a single verse with the expression *ἄλλυδης ἄλλ-* or *ἄλλοθεν ἄλλ-* elsewhere in Greek poetry only at Arat. *Phaen.* 867, where the clouds are gathering rather than dispersing: *ὅτε... / φαίνωνται νεφέλαι ὑπερευθέες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι*. The combination of *νεφέλαι* and *ἄλλυδης ἄλλαι* in the same metrical positions at *Id.* 22.20 may hark back to the Aratean verse, at the same time, in typically Alexandrian fashion, reversing the direction of the cloud movement. Like the Aratean passages on the Manger, *Phaen.* 867 occurs in the 'weather-signs' section of the

⁷ The passage continues until line 908. Cf. *Phaen.* 994–8: *σκέπτεο δ' εὐδιος μὲν ἔων ἐπὶ χεῖματι μάλλον, / ἐς δὲ γαλῆναίην χειμωνόθεν, εὐ δὲ μάλα χρή / ἐς Φάτινν ὄραν, τὴν Καρκίνος ἀμφιέλισσει, / πρῶτα καθαιρομένην πάσης ὑπένερθεν ὀμίχλης / κείνη γὰρ φθίνοντι καθαίρεται ἐν χειμῶνι*.

⁸ E. Maass, *Aratea*, Philologische Untersuchungen 12 (Berlin, 1892), p. 259; Wilamowitz (above, n. 4) p. 85.

⁹ Gow (above, n. 5), p. 119 n. 3; cf. R. J. Cholmeley, *The Idylls of Theocritus* (London, 1919), p. 17. A notable exception is B. Effe, *RhM* 121 (1978), 65 n. 32.

¹⁰ *QUCC* 53 (n.s. 24 (1986)), 47–53. Wilamowitz emphasized that the pseudo-Theophrastean *De Signis* (23) contains a passage on the Manger; Pendergraft, 49–50, points out, however, that the treatise has been shown to be a secondary compilation based on a variety of sources, including Aratus, and presumably also postdating Theocritus; she concludes that it is more likely that 'Aratus' poem was also the source of Theocritus' acquaintance with [the Asses' Manger] than that he perused some other of the hypothetical sources of the *De Signis*' (50).

poem; by recalling and reworking an expression from another passage of his model, Theocritus may be indicating his primary source for his description of the clearing heavens.¹¹

Still, the verbal connection between *Id.* 22.20 and *Phaen.* 867, slight as it is, might easily be discounted as coincidental were it not for another, more striking point of contact between the Theocritean ship salvation passage and the *Phaenomena*. In the opening lines of the episode, Theocritus' ships, 'forcing the stars that set and rise into the heavens,' encounter harsh storm winds:

νηῶν θ', αἱ δύνοντα καὶ οὐρανὸν εἰσανιόντα¹²
ἄστρα βιαζόμεναι χαλεποῖς ἐνέκυρσαν ἤγταις.

(8–9)

Verse 8 has a typically complex literary ancestry. The expression οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών occurs at the beginning of the line in *Il.* 7.423 and Hes. *Theog.* 761. Apollonius and Aratus have similar expressions with forms of εἰσαναβαίνω (A.R. 1.1100, 2.938, at verse end; *Phaen.* 32, of stars). At the same time, a search of the full *TLG* corpus for a similar conjunction of the present participles of δύνω and (–)ἄνειμι in poetry reveals only three passages of the *Phaenomena*, where the verbs appear in the same metrical positions as in the idyll:¹³

Phaen. 617 ἀμφοτέρων δύνοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρης ἀνιόντα
Phaen. 821 ἀμφοτέρων δύνοντι καὶ ἐκ περάτης ἀνιόντι
Phaen. 571 τοὶ μὲν δύνοντες, τοὶ δ' ἐξ ἑτέρης ἀνιόντες

The overt similarity between these passages and *Id.* 22.8,¹⁴ when taken in conjunction with the possible Aratean reminiscences in verses 19–22, argues for direct borrowing by Theocritus in both places. If so, references to Aratus frame the storm-description. In the opening line of the scene the ships meet with imminent disaster because they 'do violence to' the stars by ignoring or rejecting their prognostications.¹⁵ In this context the application of Aratean language to the stars is appropriate and significant, for after all Aratus in the *Phaenomena* explicates the meaning of the very celestial bodies violated by Theocritus' vessels, in one passage describing in detail the destructive effects of a storm falling upon sailors who fail to observe the warnings of the heavens (418ff.).¹⁶ Theocritus' ships, in other words, have

¹¹ Mr A. S. Hollis suggests that the description of the Manger as ἀμανρῆ (*Id.* 22.21) contributes to the creation of an Aratean atmosphere; although Aratus does not use the adjective itself, his word to describe dimness in stars, ἀφανρός (cf. *Phaen.* 256, 277, etc.), differs by just one letter, and the Theocritean description might thus be a further example of imitation and variation of Aratus. Homer has only εἰδωλον ἀμανρόν at *Od.* 4.824, 835.

¹² Meineke's emendation οὐρανὸν εἰσανιόντα for MSS οὐρανοῦ ἐξανιόντα is now widely accepted, and is supported by the reading of Gow's Ψ3 (P. Antinoae), which has]σανιόντα; for other proposals see the bibliography cited by Gow (above, n. 5), p. 586.

¹³ The closest parallel that I can find from antecedent hexameter poetry is Hes. *WD* 728: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε δύη, μεμνημένος, ἔς τ' ἀνιόντα. ¹⁴ pace Gow (above, n. 5), p. 119.

¹⁵ They bear no such responsibility for their trouble in the thirty-third Homeric hymn, where the Dioscuri are saviours of ships *ὅτε τε σπέρχωνται ἀελλαι* (7). As Gow (above, n. 5), p. 386, notes, the sense of the verb βιάζομαι is here the same as in such expressions as τοὺς νόμους β. and τὰ θεῖα β. at, e.g. Thuc. 8.53 and Paus. 2.1.5 respectively (cf. also Lys. 6.52); Gow's 'wilfully disregarding,' however, seems to me not sufficiently to capture the notion of force. Theocritus' expression bears a general resemblance to Apollonius' λαῖτμα βηισάμενοι, used in connection with the Argonauts' contemplated return to Mysia: καὶ νῦν κεν ἄψ ὀπίσω Μυσῶν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἵκοντο / λαῖτμα βηισάμενοι ἀνέμου τ' ἀλληκτον ἰωήν (A.R. 1.1298–9); for the possible connections between the *Argonautica* and the Theocritean storm narrative, see below.

¹⁶ On similar grounds, B. Effe (above, n. 9), 65 n. 32, suggests that the Theocritean storm scene is inspired by the *Phaenomena*, though at the level of diction he notes only the

neglected the lessons provided by Aratus, and this act of violation leads them to the brink of disaster, from which they are saved only by the intervention of the Dioscuri. In the Homeric hymn the pair intercedes by actively stopping the storm (14–16 κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας, / κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι, / ναῦταις σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφίσιν), but in the idyll they are less explicitly responsible for the improvement in the weather. As the skies clear and the seas grow calm, the appearance of the fair-weather σήματα is accompanied by the return of Aratus as a literary model: the storm comes to an end, as it began, with reference to the *Phaenomena*.

In contrast with the opening and conclusion of the episode, the central storm narrative itself does not appear to refer at the verbal level specifically to Aratus. Instead, it shares several points of contact with Apollonius' *Argonautica*. The relationship between the idyll and the *Argonautica* has, in fact, engendered considerable discussion, which has naturally focused on the manifestly connected accounts of Polydeuces' boxing match with Amycus related in *Id.* 22.27–134 and A.R. 2.1–97. The order in which the works were composed has been debated, but most scholars now seem to incline toward the view that Apollonius' version of this episode—and of the Hylas episode recounted in *Idyll* 13 and at A.R. 1.1207ff.—was written first.¹⁷

Connections between the proem and the *Argonautica* may provide some additional support for this relative chronology.¹⁸ Verses 10–12 of the idyll describe the action of the storm winds encountered by the vessels that have ignored the warnings of the stars:

οἱ δὲ σφῶν κατὰ πρύμναν αἰείραντες μέγα κύμα
ἦε καὶ ἐκ πρῶρρηθεν ἦ ὄππῃ θυμὸς ἐκάστου
εἰς κοίλην ἔρριψαν.

This passage shares interesting points of contact with Apollonius' account of the Argo's voyage through the Symplegades, an episode which similarly involves the salvation, by divine intervention, of a ship in trouble at sea.¹⁹ In the idyll, a μέγα κύμα is sent hurtling down on the hapless vessels.²⁰ In Apollonius, as the Argonauts approach the clashing rocks, they are confronted with a large wave (μέγα κύμα),

'unmistakably' Aratean flavor of *Id.* 22.19–22. Meteorology, of course, is of great importance at sea, and Aratus naturally emphasizes the grave perils facing sailors who ignore the warnings of the constellations (153–5, 287ff., 758ff.).

¹⁷ E.g. M. Campbell, *Hermes* 102 (1974), 38–41; K. J. Dover, *Theocritus. Select Poems* (Basingstoke and London, 1971), p. 181; G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford, 1988), p. 192; cf. now B. Effe, *Hermes* 120 (1992), 299–309. The opposing view has been expressed most fully by A. Köhnken, *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit. Die Hylas- und die Amykosgeschichten beider Dichter und die Frage der Priorität* (Göttingen, 1965), on which see J. Griffin, *CR* 16 (1966), 300–2.

¹⁸ I have found connections between the proem and the *Argonautica* mentioned only by F. T. Griffiths, *Theocritus' Hymn to the Dioscuri* (Diss. Cambridge, MA, 1974), pp. 82–4 (cf. *HSPH* 80 [1976], 299), who observes phonetic and verbal similarities to two Apollonian contexts, both closely associated with the Polydeuces–Amycus episode: the wave simile applied to Amycus at 2.70ff. and the actual wave that threatens the Argo immediately after its departure from Bebrycian territory at 2.169ff.

¹⁹ In Apollonius' account, the Argo is held fast between the Symplegades; Athena draws back one of the rocks with her left hand, simultaneously pushing the ship through with her right. Theocritus' Dioscuri, for their part, are said actually to drag sinking vessels even from the deep; in this respect the Theocritean version differs markedly from the thirty-third Homeric Hymn, where the twins intervene simply by stopping the storm without physically manipulating the ship in any way.

²⁰ Cf. *HH* 33.11–12: τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κύμα θαλάσσης / θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην.

which threatens to crash down on the ship and overwhelm it (2.580–3).²¹ Tiphys manoeuvres, and the wave, rolling under the Argo's keel, carries the ship clear of the rocks (A.R. 2.585–7):

τὸ δὲ πολλὸν ὑπὸ τρόπιν ἐξεκυλίσθη
ἐκ δ' αὐτὴν πρύμνηθεν ἀνείρυσε τηλόθι νῆα
πέτρων, ὕψου δὲ μεταχρονίη πεφόρητο.

The adverb πρύμνηθεν, used here alone by Apollonius,²² is also an Homeric hapax (Il. 15.716: Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν οὐχὶ μεθείει). Although the pleonastic conjunction of ἐκ plus directional adverb in -θεν is not unique,²³ it is tempting to connect Apollonius' collocation of the preposition and an adverb meaning 'from the stern' to Theocritus' use of the same construction with the unHomeric πρῶρηθεν, 'from the prow,' in the identical metrical position.²⁴ That Theocritus' adverb is unHomeric while Apollonius' is an Homeric hapax is itself suggestive. G. Perrotta observed that in related passages of their Hylas episodes Apollonius reproduces Homeric forms and constructions while Theocritus alters them slightly.²⁵ The same pattern is to be found in the Amycus episodes: at *Id.* 22.32, the Argonauts disembark onto an ἀκτὴ described with the unHomeric adjective ὑπήνεμος; Apollonius, for his part, uses the Homeric hapax νήνεμος (Il. 8.556) in conjunction with ἀκτὴ, likewise at line end, of the same Bebrycian shore (A.R. 2.162)—not, as in Theocritus, on the occasion of the Argonauts' arrival, but instead at the conclusion of the episode, as the Argonauts celebrate Polydeuces' victory and the routing of the Bebrycians immediately before they depart.

In a recent discussion of allusion, G. B. Conte remarks that 'allusion will occur as a literary act if a sympathetic vibration can be set up between the poet's and the reader's memories when these are directed to a source already stored in both. Reference should be made to a poetic *setting* rather than to individual *lines*. A single word in the new poem will often be enough to condense a whole poetic situation and to revive its mood.'²⁶ In the case of the Theocritean storm scene and the Apollonian Symplegades episode, the sympathetic vibration depends on lexical, syntactic, and contextual features: both Theocritus' ἐκ πρῶρηθεν and Apollonius' ἐκ...πρύμνηθεν occur as a large wave threatens to crash down on, or actually does crash down on, ships at sea, and in each case the vessels are ultimately saved only by divine intercession—the Dioscuri's in one case, Athena's in the other.²⁷ A learned

²¹ The expression μέγα κύμα, common in Homeric poetry, occurs in Apollonius only in this passage and later, in the dative, in the parallel account of the Argonauts' voyage through another set of rocks, the Planctae (4.924).

²² Apollonius has πρυμνόθεν apparently in the sense of πρύμνηθεν at A.R. 4.911 (contrast 4.1686). Aratus, who also uses πρυμνόθεν in this way (343), has πρύμνηθεν once, similarly in connection with the Argo: ὡς ἦγε πρύμνηθεν Ἰησονὶς ἔλκεται Ἀργῶ (*Phaen* 348). Elsewhere at Aes. *Sept.* 209, Eur. *Ion* 928, *Tro.* 20, *IT* 1349, *Hel.* 1603; *SH* 404.2 (Erinna?); cf. Orph. *Arg.* 528, 620.

²³ Homeric examples are collected by J. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* (Leiden, 1918), p. 156; cf. A.R. 2.993 ἐκ Διοθεν, [Theoc.] *Id.* 25.180 οὐς Ἐλίκηθεν, with Gow (above, n. 5), ad loc.

²⁴ Gow (above, n. 5) cites the Apollonian passage, without further comment, in his note on the line. Griffiths (above, n. 18), pp. 82–3 observes that the Theocritean expression 'unmistakably parallels' A.R. 2.586 and 2.993 (ἐκ Διοθεν). The adverb πρῶρηθεν/πρῶραθεν occurs elsewhere before Theocritus at Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.22, 10.52; Thuc. 7.36 (3x); cf. also Q.S. 14.378: ἀπὸ δὲ πρῶρηθεν.

²⁵ *SIFC* n.s. 4 (1925), 85–8; cf. B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), p. 401.

²⁶ *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (Ithaca and London, 1986), p. 35.

²⁷ Both the Theocritean and Apollonian passages also contain striking, though different, uses of the present participle of βιάζομαι. In the *Argonautica*, the simplex of the verb is used only in

Alexandrian readership, it is reasonable to suggest, would have seen in one poet's use of a pleonastic construction of *ἐκ* plus nautical adverb in *-θεν* a response to his predecessor's use of the identical construction with an adverb denoting motion away from the opposite end of a ship. Whatever the relative order of composition, the reference has the effect of recalling the larger context in which the model occurs, and thereby establishes an intertextual connection between Theocritus' ships and Apollonius' Argo.

This connection is perhaps reinforced by a further point of contact between the idyll and the *Argonautica*. Two expressions in the Theocritean passage, *ἄρμενα πάντα* (13) and *ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλκετε* (17), occur in close conjunction with one another at A.R. 4.887–9:²⁸

εὐναίας εἶλκον περιγηθείες ἄλλα τε πάντα
ἄρμενα μὴρῦοντο κατὰ χρέος.

I have not found the collocation of *ἐκ...βυθοῦ/βυθοῖο* and *ἔλκειν* (or compound) elsewhere in antecedent Greek poetry, though the notion it expresses is an unsurprising one.²⁹ The expression *ἄρμενα πάντα*, for its part, does appear several times in earlier poetry (cf., e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 639, with West, ad loc., *Sc.* 84, Theogn. 275, 695; cf. Hes. *WD* 407, Pi. *N.* 3.58), though in these passages the noun does not mean 'tackle,' an otherwise ordinary sense of the word (e.g., Hes. *WD* 808, Theoc. *Id.* 13.68). In the present case, the appearance of either expression alone in both the Theocritean and Apollonian passages would clearly be insufficient to indicate a link between them. The accumulation of both expressions within a few lines of one another in each of the poems, however, may suggest that one poet has the other in mind.

If so, then the concentration of verbal connections to the *Argonautica* in the Theocritean storm scene may shed some light on the question of priority, for on balance it seems more likely that Theocritus has conflated in one relatively short passage references to different passages of the *Argonautica* than that Apollonius has reworked the Theocritean passage in disparate sections of his own poem.³⁰ Moreover, in the context of Theocritus' storm scene an echo of the Apollonian Symplegades episode would have a special significance that would be lost if it is Apollonius who responds to Theocritus. In the lines immediately following the proem, Theocritus opens his account of the Polydeuces–Amycus episode with the assertion that the Argo had already traversed the Symplegades when it reached the land of the Bebryces. In this detail he differs pointedly with Apollonius, who situates the episode in the Propontis, before the Argonauts have traversed the rocks.³¹ While both traditions

this passage (cf. *προπροβιαζόμενοι* at 1.386), where it appears in the spondaic line ending *ἐπεγνάμπτοντο δὲ κώπαι / ἥντε καμπύλα τόξα, βιαζόμενων ἡρώων* (A.R. 2.591–2); in Theocritus, of course, the participle is used of the personified ships themselves (9 *ἄστρα βιαζόμεναι*). The journal's referee suggests that there might be a significant phonetic similarity between *Id.* 22.12 *εἰς κοίλην ἔρριψαν, ἀνέρρηξαν δ' ἄρα τοίχους* and A.R. 2.595 *ἢ (sc. Argo) ... ἐπέρτερε κύματι λάβρω / προπροκαταΐγδην κοίλης ἁλός. ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσαυς/...*

²⁸ The possible relationship between this passage and the Theocritean storm scene was suggested by the journal's referee.

²⁹ The collocation subsequently appears at, e.g., D.C. 7.30.4, Dsc. *de materia medica* 5.121.1, Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 28.1.

³⁰ A similar argument, based on different perceived points of contact, is made, tentatively, by Griffiths (above, n. 18), pp. 85–6.

³¹ Similarly, in *Id.* 13, Theocritus diverges from Apollonius on the manner in which the Argo traversed the Symplegades, claiming explicitly that the ship passed through unscathed, whereas Apollonius and others state that the end of the Argo's stern-post was clipped off in the passage;

seem to have been represented in antiquity,³² I offer the suggestion that in the proem of the idyll a reference to the Argo's divinely assisted voyage through the Symplegades reinforces the 'correction' of Apollonius at the beginning of the Amycus episode. If one assumes Apollonian priority, the intertextual link that the proem establishes between the storm-tossed ships and Apollonius' Argo has special point: having already recalled in the storm scene Apollonius' version of the Symplegades episode, Theocritus proceeds to assert, correcting the version told in the *Argonautica*, that the Argo had already completed its passage through the rocks before arriving at Bebrycian territory. No such point, on the other hand, emerges if one imagines that it is Apollonius who reworks Theocritus.

The evidence from the proem, then, offers some support for the view that Theocritus was familiar with the *Argonautica* when he composed *Idyll* 22. If this relative chronology is correct, then in the storm scene, references to contemporary poetry appear in a distinct pattern, with references to Aratus at the beginning and end of the episode enclosing a central narrative that reworks and recalls several different passages of Apollonius' account of the voyage of the Argo.

The conclusion of the storm is followed immediately by a short direct address to the twins: ὦ ἄμφω θνητοῖσι βοηθοί, ὦ φίλοι ἄμφω / ἰππῆες καθαρισταὶ ἀεθλητῆρες ἀοιδοί (23–4). Of the attributes listed, only lyre-playing and singing are untraditional, and only these abilities are not overtly anticipated earlier in the proem. The claim that the Dioscuri are θνητοῖσι βοηθοί and φίλοι closely links the first line of the address to the preceding ship-salvation episode, and to the assertion that the twins are ἀνθρώπων σωτήρας ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἥδη ἑόντων (6). Similarly, the Dioscuri's athleticism is clearly exemplified by Polydeuces' boxing ability, emphasized by the narrator earlier in the poem: Κάστορα καὶ φοβερὸν Πολυδεύκεα πύξ ἐρεθίζειν / χεῖρας ἐπιζεύξαντα μέσας βοέοισιν ἰμάσιν (2–3). Theocritus here omits the traditional epithet for Castor, ἵπποδαμος, consistently applied to him in the archaic models for the passage,³³ but compensates for the want of a reference to horsemanship in the opening lines by expanding on the thirty-third Homeric hymn, which treats the twins only as saviours of men and of ships, in making them saviours of horses as well (7).³⁴ Thus the assertion that the Dioscuri are helpers of mortals, horsemen, and athletes is already well justified in the proem itself. The unusual declaration that they are καθαρισταί and ἀοιδοί is less manifestly relevant to the context, however. The same words are conjoined, in different order, in several passages of antecedent hexameter poetry (Hes. *Theog.* 95, fr. 305.2; *HH* 25.3) and here as in those passages the nouns are to be understood in close connection with one another:³⁵ the Dioscuri, Theocritus maintains, are poets.

The assertion, underscored by the position of ἀοιδοί at the end of the address, has the effect of establishing a direct correspondence between the honorands and the poet himself, and links the proem to the idyll's epilogue, where the narrator, bidding farewell to the twins in hymnic style, calls on them to send glory to his poetry

cf. Gow (above, n. 5), p. 236. M. Campbell, 'Theocritus Thirteen', in E. M. Craik, ed. *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990), p. 117, sets the assertion that the Argo was untouched by the rocks in the context of Theocritus' reworking of Apollonius.

³² Cf. *RE* s.v. Argonautai, 759–60; cf. E. Delage, *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes* (Bordeaux, 1930), pp. 117–18.

³³ *Il.* 3.237, *Od.* 11.300; *HH* 33.3; Hes. fr. 198.8, 199.1.

³⁴ In this regard it is perhaps relevant that the precise expression βοέοισιν ἰμάσιν (3), used of the thongs with which Polydeuces binds his hands, means 'reins' in Homer (*Il.* 23.324; cf. *Il.* 22.397).

³⁵ Cf. M. L. West, *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), p. 187.

(214–15).³⁶ ‘All poets,’ he continues, ‘are dear (*φίλοι*) to the Dioscuri, to Helen, and to the other heroes who sacked Troy giving aid to Menelaus’ (215–17). Here, as often, the adjective *φίλος* has its full reciprocal force: poets are dear to the Dioscuri and other heroes because they provide the useful service of bringing renown to those they include in their compositions. The topos (cf., e.g., *Id.* 16.48–57) is illustrated in the lines that follow. Homer, the narrator claims, glorified the twins by composing the *Iliad* (218–20), and so too does he himself, though in his own refined way (221–3);³⁷ songs, the idyll concludes, are the fairest of honours for gods (223).³⁸ The friendship between poets and honorands in the programmatic *envoi* corresponds to and recapitulates the relationship, in the proem, between the Dioscuri, who are addressed—emphatically—as poets, and the mortals (and horses and ships) to whom they are benefactors (*βοηθοί, φίλοι*).³⁹

In light of this correspondence, the storm scene, with its distinct pattern of reference to contemporary poetry, might plausibly be read as a reflection and comment on Theocritus’ own literary project in the idyll.⁴⁰ In the course of the episode, the Dioscuri, soon to be addressed as poets, come to the aid of ships linked by allusion to Apollonius’ *Argo*, and ultimately bring about the return of the Aratean stars whose violation leads the vessels to near disaster in the first place. The twins’ intercession, I suggest, thus prefigures and calls attention to the poet’s own manipulation of Apollonius in the succeeding Amycus narrative.⁴¹ On such a reading, the Aratean references that frame the central narrative acquire special interest. The *Phaenomena*, so admired by subsequent generations of poets, was already held in great esteem by Alexandrian poets as an embodiment of the refinement and sophistication they sought to achieve.⁴² Thus by closely associating with the Aratean poem the stars that are ‘forced’ in the storm scene, Theocritus may be having a playful smile at Apollonius’ expense.

Recent scholarship has recognized that Theocritus’ reworking of the Hylas and Amycus episodes need not imply outright hostility towards Apollonian poetry;⁴³ nor is it necessary to see denigration of the *Argonautica* in the pattern of reference exhibited by the storm scene. Rather, Theocritus, in an elaborate and charac-

³⁶ Cf. Gow (above, n. 5), p. 387, who suggests that the twins may be addressed as *δοιοί* and *κθαρισταί* ‘because both singing and harping were knightly accomplishments... and because he intends to appeal to them to patronize his poetry.’

³⁷ On the narrator’s strange claim about the Dioscuri and the *Iliad*, cf. A. Sens, *TAPhA* 122 (1992), 335–50, where p. 336 n. 3. should read: ‘Even if White is correct in suggesting that *καὶ ἄλλοις ἡρώεσσιν* in 216 means “and also the heroes” (as it might) and not “and the other heroes”...’. Also, in the Homeric context paraphrased at p. 339 n. 11, Nestor has not been told to stay behind the lines, but is remarking that he will stay with the horsemen and give advice and encouragement while younger men do the spear fighting; at p. 346 n. 20 read ‘Antenor’s son’.

³⁸ There may be, as often, an inherent irony, since the treatment of the twins, at least in the Castor narrative, is perhaps less than honorific.

³⁹ Similar thematic links perhaps exist between the opening section of Call. *H.* 2 and the explicitly programmatic closing lines of that poem; cf. K. Bassi, *TAPhA* 119 (1989), pp. 219–31.

⁴⁰ Ships, we might note, appear as metaphors for poetry as early as Pindar: e.g., *Nem.* 4.69–70; *Pyth.* 11.38–42.

⁴¹ A connection between the proem and the Polydeuces narrative would perhaps mirror a similar connection between the Castor narrative and the epilogue: cf. Sens (above, n. 37).

⁴² Callimachus (*E.* 27 Pf.) and Leonidas (*AP* 9.25 = 101 G-P), for example, use the programmatically significant adjective *λεπτός* in connection with the poem, and one of the Ptolemies writes that among astronomical poets Aratus, whom he calls *λεπτολόγος*, holds the sceptre (*SH* 712). The deep admiration such men felt for Aratean poetry finds direct expression in Callimachus’ pamphlet *Against Praxiphanes* (fr. 460 Pf.), where the author is said to have called Aratus a learned poet of the very first rank (*πολυμαθῆ καὶ ἀριστον ποιητήν*).

⁴³ Cf., e.g., Hutchinson (above, n. 17), p. 193.

teristically Alexandrian literary game, evokes and manipulates the poetry of his contemporaries in order to underscore his own cleverness and originality, and to suggest at the same time that he has done Apollonius one better. What more precisely might be at issue is difficult to say, and I offer the following suggestion tentatively. In the Polydeuces narrative, Theocritus reworks Apollonius' more traditionally epic account of the Amycus episode, complete with the murder of Amycus and a full-scale battle, as a self-contained hymnal epyllion, with Polydeuces, in keeping with the 'lighter' nature of the form, mercifully sparing his opponent in the end. The light-hearted tone and substance of Theocritus' version presumably owes something to Epicharmus' *Amycus* (6–8 Kaibel) and Sophocles' satyrplay (111–12 Radt) of the same title;⁴⁴ whether Apollonius' graver treatment represents a thorough break with tradition is now impossible to determine with certainty,⁴⁵ but in any case the Theocritean response restores to the episode the jocular humour absent from the epic version. Herein may lie the point of the storm scene's pattern of reference: as the Dioscuri's intervention leads to the reappearance of 'Aratean' fair-weather signs, so too, we may be to infer, does Theocritus, in reworking Apollonius' narrative, endow the Amycus episode with a refinement and wit appropriate to his chosen form.⁴⁶

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⁴⁴ Campbell (above, n. 17), p. 40; cf. Gow (above, n. 5), pp. 399–400.

⁴⁵ Köhnken (above, n. 17), pp. 91–3, emphasizes Theocritus' traditionality and Apollonius' originality (cf. Campbell (above, n. 17), 40 n. 7), though Griffin (above, n. 17), 301 thinks it 'more likely that Amycus was a typical molester of strangers (e.g. Cercyon, Busiris), and met the same end.'

⁴⁶ Versions of this paper were read at the American Philological Association meeting in New Orleans, December, 1992, and at the University of Virginia, February, 1993. I wish to thank James J. Clauss, Michael Poliakoff, and Richard F. Thomas, as well as A. S. Hollis and the journal's anonymous referee, for their helpful comments on earlier drafts.